

THE
SLAVE-HOLDER'S
RELIGION.

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THE SLAVEHOLDER'S RELIGION.

Many Professors of religion in the United States, boldly and fearlessly claim for Slavery a Divine sanction, and as a consequence, these persons contend that men have a right to hold human beings in slavery.

This claim is disputed by some and affirmed by others.

President Shannon, of Bacon College, Kentucky, a Campbellite preacher, says :

"Thus did Jehovah STEREOTYPE HIS APPROBATION OF DOMESTIC SLAVERY, *by incorporating it with the institutions of the Jewish religion, the only religion on earth that had the Divine sanction.*"

The Rev. Wm. Graham, of the New School Presbyterian Church, published a pamphlet, in which he says, see page 22, "The relation of master and slave is a part of the laws of Jehovah ;" and again, on page 35, he declares that "Christ authorized the relation in the charter of the church and in all the laws ever made for the regulation of the church."

Mr. Graham stated before his synod that his teachings on the subject of Slavery differed but little from many living ministers opposed to the doctrines and measures of Abolitionists.

Rev. Alexander McCain a preacher of the Protestant Methodist Church, made a speech in their general conference, held in Baltimore, in 1842, in support of the Divinity of Slavery, and afterwards published a pamphlet on the same subject, which called forth an approbatory letter from John C. Calhoun.

But testimony of this kind is unnecessary, it is a matter of almost universal notoriety, that a large majority of the professors of religion, in this country, sanction and uphold the system, and very many throw off all disguise and claim for it a Divine sanction.

The character of God is known by his attributes; and to learn the character of the slaveholder's God, it is only necessary to learn what Slavery is, his attributes being stamped upon it, its features will reflect the character of its author.

This will enable us to decide whether he is or is not the everlasting and just God of Heaven. That which is contrary to God—which is unlike him, has not his sanction. Those who profess a slaveholding religion, declare that God sanctions Slavery. The Bible says, "There are gods many and lords many." The slaveholders, to a great extent, are a religious people, they have their God and worship Him. What his character is will be shown by exhibiting the character of Slavery itself, inasmuch as the slaveholders themselves assert that he is himself the author and approver of the slave system.

Slavery consists in chattelizing human beings and depriving them of the exercise of all the rights of men. Human beings are held in the condition of Slaves, either by fraud or by force and without the exercise of one or the other of these means, men and women cannot be held in slavery. I shall first speak of the exercise of force, and adduce evidence to prove that when force is resorted to, such appliances as the hand cuff, the iron collar, the chain, the stocks, the whipping post, the blood stained cow hide, the branding iron, the dog, the gun, and the dungeon are employed.

MINISTERS, HOUNDS, AND RUNAWAY NEGROES.

The Home Missionary of the Alabama Association writing to the Alabama Baptist, on the subject of ministerial support, attributes the unwillingness of the people to support their preachers, in part to the teaching of the anti-missionary ministers. And he represents one of these riding through the country with a train of about twenty hounds and with a brace of pistols, and a bowie knife projecting out of his pocket, showing a handle which would make a bludgeon, as his informant told him, "large enough to kill the d—l, and thus fully armed and equipped, he makes his excursions, *hunting runaway negroes.*"

The Missionary of the Alabama Association goes on to say:—"While it may be right and proper that some one should keep such dogs, and follow such avocation, we think it does not fitly become the ambassadors of Christ. Let the churches then awake to the subject of *ministerial support.*"

Think of this. The Alabama Association supports a Missionary who concedes that hounds ought to be kept, and men employed for the purpose of hunting runaway negroes. It is

wrong for a minister to do it because it is not his vocation, and the churches ought to support him so that he may not need it. I know not which most to be astonished at, the anti-missionary preacher who himself does such work, or the missionary who admits the propriety of the vocation in others than professional ministers. "O shame! where is thy blush?"—*Christian Politician*.

Dr. Brisbane, the editor of the *Christian Politician*, is himself a Baptist preacher, and a man eminent for his philanthropy. He was formerly a Slaveholder in the South. But parted with his slaves and removed to Cincinnati, where he became convinced that he had done a wrong. When convinced of this he immediately adopted measures to redeem them, which was effected at a great pecuniary sacrifice to himself.

"NOTICE.—Was committed to the jail of Washington County, *District of Columbia*, as a runaway, a negro woman by the name of Polly Leiper, and her infant child William. * * * Says she was set free by John Campbell of Richmond, Va., in 1818 or 1819. The owner of the above described woman and child, if any, are requested to come and prove them, and take them away; or they will be SOLD FOR THEIR JAIL FEES, AND OTHER EXPENSES, AS THE LAW DIRECTS.

"May 19, 1827.

TENCH RINGGOLD, Marshall."

RUNAWAY NEGRO TAKEN.

On the first of November I took up a runaway, and *for want of a jail*, PUT HIM IN IRONS, and shall endeavor to keep him on my plantation, on the Mississippi river, five miles from Randolph. The negro says he belongs to Mr. Algon Smith, about 60 miles above Louisville, but he does not know the county or the nearest town, in consequence of never having lived with his master; that about two years ago, Smith bought him in Maryland, since then he has been constantly hired out; that he has worked at Little Sandy Salt Works, that his name is Squire. He is full six feet high, well made, and is strong and active, but stoops a little forward as he walks; is about 30 years old. He had on when I took him, a strong cotton shirt, linsey (white) pantaloons, black tabby velvet vest, and blanket coat. He lost his hat and bundle in the cane *while running from my dogs*. He is a negro of good countenance; black, though not what would be considered very black: has two small scars on his face, one on his forehead, and one over the right eye, neither of which would be noticed unless closely examined. N. ROSS, "Randolph, Tipton co., Tennessee."

Louisville Journal, Ky.

From Niles' *Baltimore Register*, for 1829, vol. 35, p. 4.

"Dealing in slaves has become a large business. Establishments are made at several places in Maryland and Virginia,

at which they are sold like cattle. 'These places of deposit are strongly built, and well supplied with *iron thumb screws and gags*, and ornamented with *cowskins and other whips—often times bloody.*"

"Ranaway, a negro woman and two children; a few days before she went off, *I burnt her with a hot iron*, on the left side of her face, *I tried to make the letter M.*"

Mr. Micajah Ricks, Nash County, North Carolina, in the Raleigh "Standard," July 18, 1838.

"Ranaway, Mary, a black woman, has a scar on her back and right arm near the shoulder, *caused by a rifle ball.*"

Mr. Asa B. Metcalf, Kingston, Adams County, Mi. in the "Natchez Courier," June 15, 1832.

Ranaway, a negro man named Henry, *his left eye out* some scars from a *dirk* on and under his left arm, and *much scarred* with the whip."

Mr. William Overstreet, Benton, Yazoo County, Mi. in the "Lexington (Ky.) Observer," July 22, 1838.

One hundred dollars reward for a negro fellow Pompey, 40 years old, he is *branded* on the *left jaw*.

Mr. R. P. Carney, Clark Co., Ala., in the Mobile Register, Dec. 22, 1832.

"Ranaway, Laman, an old negro man, grey, has *only one eye.*"

Mr. J. Guyler, Savannah Georgia, in the "Republican," April 12, 1837.

"Committed to jail a negro man, has *no toes* on his left foot."

J. A. Brown, Jailor, Charleston, South Carolina, in the "Mercury," Jan. 12, 1837.

"Ranaway, a negro woman named Rachel, has *lost all her toes* except the large one."

Madame Burvant, corner of Chartres and Toulouse streets, New Orleans, in the "Bee," Dec. 21, 1838.

"Ranaway, Sam, he was *shot* a short time since, through the hand, and has *several shots in his left arm and side.*"

Mr. O. W. Lains in the "Helena, (Ark.) Journal," June 1, 1833.

"Ranaway, my negro man Dennis, said negro has been *shot* in the left arm between the shoulders and elbow, which has paralyzed the left hand."

Mr. R. W. Sizer, in the "Grand Gulf, [Mi.] Advertiser," July 8, 1837.

"Ranaway my negro man Simon, he *has been shot badly* in his back and right arm."

Mr. Nicholas Edmunds, in the "Petersburgh [Va.] Intelligencer," May 22, 1838.

"Fifty dollars reward, for the negro Jim Blake—has a *piece*

cut out of each ear, and the middle fin ~~gets~~ the left hand cut off to the second joint."

The editor of the New Orleans "Bee," in that paper, Aug. 27, 1837.

Ranaway, my man Fountain—has *holes in his ears*, a *scar* on the right side of his forehead—has been *shot in the hind parts of his legs*,—is marked on the back with the whip."

Mr. Robert Beasley, Macon, Georgia, in the "Georgia Messenger," July 27, 1837.

Ranaway, the negro boy Teams—he had on his neck an *iron collar*."

Mr. Lambre, in the "Natchitoches (La.) Herald," March 29, 1837.

Ranaway, the negro George—he had on *his neck an iron collar*, the branches of which had been taken off."

Mr. Ferdinand Lemos, New Orleans, in the "Bee," January 29, 1838.

"Ranaway, a negro boy about *twelve* years old—had round his neck a *chain dog-collar*, with 'De Yampert' engraved on it."

Mr. T. J. De Yampert, merchant Mobile, Alabama, of the firm of De Yampert, King & Co., in the "Mobile Chronicle," June 15, 1838.

"Committed to jail, slave John—has several scars on his wrists, occasioned, he says, by *handcuffs*."

J. H. Hand, Jailor, St Francisville, in the "Louisiana Chronicle," July 26, 1837.

"Ranaway, the negro Hown—has a ring of iron on his left foot. Also, Grise, his *wife*, having a *ring and chain on the left leg*."

Mr. Charles Curcner, New Orleans, in the "Bee," July 2, 1838.

"Ranaway, a negro boy named James—said boy was *ironed* when he left me."

Mr. P. T. Manning, Huntsville, Alabama, in the Huntsville Advocate," Oct. 23, 1838.

"Ranaway, Jim—had on when he escaped a pair of *chain handcuffs*."

Mr. Wm. L. Lambeth, Lynchburg, Virginia, in the "Moulton [Ala.] Whig," January 30, 1836.

"Ranaway, Isham—has a *scar* upon the breast and upon the under lip, from the *bite of a dog*."

Mr. Samuel Ragland, Triana, Madison county, Ala., in the "Huntsville Advocate," Dec. 23, 1837.

"Ranaway, a negro named Hambleton, *limps* on his left foot where he was *shot* a few weeks ago, while runaway."

Mr. Thomas Hudnall, Madison county, Mi., in the "Vicksburg Register," Sept. 5, 1838.

"Ranaway, a negro man named Johnson—he has a *great many marks of the whip* on his back."

Mr. Cornelius D. Tolin, Augusta, Georgia, in the "Chronicle and Sentinel," Oct. 18, 1838.

"Committed to jail, a negro slave named James—*much scarred with a whip* on his back."

W. H. Brasseale, sheriff, Blount county, Ala., in the "Huntsville Democrat," June 9, 1838.

"Ranaway, my man Fountain—he is marked *on the back with the whip*."

Mr. Robert Beasley, Macon, Georgia, in the "Georgia Messenger," July 27, 1837.

"Ranaway, Bill—has *several LARGE SCARS* on his back from a *severe* whipping in *early* life."

Mr. John Wotton, Rockville, Montgomery county, Maryland, in the "Baltimore Republican," Jan 13, 1838.

"Committed to jail, a negro boy who calls himself Joe—said negro bears *marks of the whip*."

D. S. Bennett, sheriff, Natchitoches, La., in the "Herald," July 21, 1838.

"Ranaway, negro fellow John—from being whipped, has *scars on his back, arms and thighs*."

Messrs. C. C. Whitehead, and R. A. Evans, Marion, Georgia, in the Milledgeville Ga. "Standard of Union," June 26, 1838.

"Was committed to jail, a negro named Ambrose—has a *ring of iron around his neck*."

William Dyer, sheriff, Claiborne, Louisiana, in the "Herald," Natchitoches, (La.) July 26, 1837.

"Ranaway, my slave Amos, had a *chain* attached to one of his legs."

Mr. Owen Cooke, "Mary street, between Common and Jackson streets," New Orleans, in the N. O. "Bee," Sept. 12, 1837.

"Committed to Jail, a negro named Patrick, about 45 years old, and is *handcuffed*."

H. W. Rice, Sheriff, Colleton district, South Carolina, in the "Charleston Mercury," Sept. 1, 1838.

"Committed to jail, a negro—had on his right leg an *iron band* with one link of a chain."

W. P. Reeves, jailor, Shelby county, Tennessee, in the "Memphis Enquirer," June 17, 1837.

"Ranaway, a negro man named Charles—had on a *drawing chain*, fastened around his ankle with a house lock."

Mr. Francis Durett, Lexington, Lauderdale county, Ala., in the "Huntsville Democrat," August 29, 1837.

"Ranaway, the negro Manuel, *much marked with irons*."

Mr. A. Murat, Baton Rouge, in the New Orleans "Bee," June 20, 1837

"Ranaway, a negro boy named Daniel, about nineteen years old, and was *handcuffed*."

Mr. Jordan Abbott, in the "Huntsville Democrat," Nov. 17, 1838.

"Ranaway, the negress Fanny—had on an *iron band about her neck*."

Mr. J. Macoin, No. 177 Ann street, New Orleans, in the "Bee," August 11, 1838.

"Ranaway, a negro named John—having an *iron around his right foot*."

Menard Brothers, Parish of Bernard, Louisiana, in the N. O. "Bee," August 18, 1838.

"Absconded, a colored boy named Peter—had an *iron round his neck* when he went away."

Messrs. J. L. & W. H. Bolton, Shelby county, Tennessee, in the "Memphis Enquirer," June 7, 1837.

"Was committed to jail, a negro boy—had on a *large neck iron* with a *huge pair of horns* and a *large bar or band of iron* on his left leg."

H. Gridley, sheriff of Adams county, Mi., in the "Memphis (Ten.) Times," Sept. 1834.

"One hundred dollars reward, for my negro Glasgow, and Kate, his wife. Glasgow is 24 years old—has *marks of the whip* on his back. Kate is 26—has a *scar* on her cheek, and *several marks of the whip*."

Mr. L. E. Cooner, Branchville, Orangeburgh District, South Carolina—in the Macon "Messenger," May 25, 1837.

"Committed to jail, a negro boy named John, about 17 years old—his back *badly marked* with the *whip*, his upper lip and chin *severely bruised*."

John H. Hand, jailor, parish of West Feliciana, La., in the "St. Francisville Journal," July 6, 1837.

"Ranaway, negro boy Jack—has a small *crop out of his left ear*."

Mr. E. Han, La Grange, Fayette county, Tenn., in the Galatin "Union," June 23, 1837.

"Was committed to jail, a negro man—has *two scars* on his forehead, and the *top of his left ear cut off*."

D. Herring, warden of Baltimore city jail, in the "Marylander," Oct. 6, 1837.

"Stolen, a negro named Winter—has a *notch* cut out of the left ear, and the mark of *four or five buck shot* on his legs."

Mr. James Marks, near Natchitoches, La., in the "Natchitoches Herald," July 21, 1838.

The Wilmington (North Carolina) Advertiser, of July 13, 1838, contains the following advertisement:—

"Ranaway, my negro man RICHARD. A reward of \$25 will be paid for his apprehension, DEAD or ALIVE. Satisfactory

proof will only be required of his being **KILLED**. He has with him, in all probability, his wife **ELIZA**, who ran away from Col. Thompson, now a resident of Alabama, about the time he commenced his journey to that state.

D. H. RHODES."

In the "Macon (Georgia) Telegraph," May 28, is the following:—

"About the 1st of March last, the negro man **RANSOM** left me without the least provocation whatever. I will give a reward of 20 dollars for said negro, if taken **DEAD OR ALIVE**,—and if killed in any attempt, an advance of \$5 will be paid.

BRYANT JOHNSON."

"*Crawford county, Ga.*"

And notwithstanding a free use is made of such appliances, Southern men declare that they cannot keep their slaves in subjection without assistance from Northern men. That they are unable to drive their slaves to unpaid toil without such assistance as every person is compelled to give by his position, however reluctantly, who remains in this Union a member of the political society.

Says the Editor of the Maryville, (Tenn.) Intelligencer, in an article on the character and condition of the slave population:—

"We of the South are emphatically surrounded by a dangerous class of beings—degraded stupid savages—who, if they could but once entertain the idea that immediate and unconditional death would not be their portion, would re-act the St. Domingo tragedy. But the consciousness, with all their stupidity, that a ten-fold force, superior in discipline, if not in barbarity, would gather from the four corners of the United States, and slaughter them, keeps them in subjection. *But, to the non-slaveholding States, particularly, we are indebted for a permanent safeguard against insurrection.* Without their assistance, the white population of the South would be too weak to quiet that innate desire for liberty which is ever ready to act itself out with every rational creature."

In the debate in Congress on the resolution to censure John Quincy Adams, for presenting a petition for the dissolution of the Union, Mr. Underwood, of Kentucky, made the following very just confession. In speaking of the effect of a repeal of the Union on Slavery, Mr. U. said:—

"They (the South) were the weaker portion, were in the minority. The North could do what they pleased with them; they could adopt their own measures. All he asked was, that they would let the South know what those measures were. One thing he knew well; that the State which he in part represented, had perhaps a deeper interest in this subject than

any other, except Maryland and a small portion of Virginia. And why? Because he knew, that to dissolve the Union, and separate the different States composing this confederacy, making the Ohio river, and Mason and Dixon's line the boundary line, he knew as soon as that was done, *slavery was done* in Kentucky, Maryland, and a large portion of Virginia, and it would extend to all the States south of this line. *The dissolution of the Union was the dissolution of Slavery.* It had been the common practice for Southern men to get up on this floor, and say, 'Touch this subject, and we will dissolve this Union as a remedy.' Their remedy was the destruction of the thing which they wished to save, and any sensible man could see it. If the Union were dissolved into two parts, the slave would cross the line, and then turn round and curse his master from the other shore."

This confession of Mr. Underwood as to the entire dependence of the slave-masters on the citizens of the nominally free States to guard their plantations, and secure them against desertion, is substantially confirmed by Thos. D. Arnold, of Tennessee, who, in a speech on the same subject, assures us that they are equally dependant on the North for *personal protection* against their slaves. In assigning his reasons for adhering to the Union, Mr. Arnold makes use of the following remarkable language:—

"The free States had now a majority of 44 in that house. Under the new census, they would have 53. The cause of the slaveholding States was getting weaker and weaker—and what were they to do? He would ask his Southern friends what the South had to rely on, if the Union were dissolved? Suppose the dissolution could be peaceably effected, (if that did not involve a contradiction in terms,) what had the South to depend upon? *All the crowned heads were against her. A million of slaves were ready to rise, and strike for freedom at the first tap of the drum.* They were cut loose from their friends at the North, (friends that ought to be, and without them the South had no friends,) *whither were they to look for protection?* How were they to sustain an assault from England, or France, with that cancer at their vitals? The more the South reflected, the more clearly she must see that she has a deep and vital interest in maintaining the Union."

The laws assist the master by requiring the slave to submit to him, and those who remain in a Union with slaveholders aid them in enforcing their laws and in compelling the slaves to submit. Such is the testimony of slaveholders. The following laws are principally copied from Judge Stroud's Sketch of the Slave Laws.

According to the law of Louisiana, "A slave is one who is

in the power of a master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry and his labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire any thing but what must belong to his master." *Civil Code, art. 35.*

Louisiana has the following express law :

"The condition of a slave being merely a passive one, his subordination to his master, and to all who *represent* him, is not susceptible of any modification or restriction, (except in what can incite the slave to the commission of crime,) in such manner, that he owes to his master and to all his family a respect without bounds and an absolute obedience, and he is consequently to execute all the orders which he receives from him, his said master, or from them." 1 *Martin's Digest*, 616.

In South Carolina it is expressed in the following language :

"Slaves shall be deemed, sold, taken, reputed and judged in law to be *chattels personal* in the hands of their owners and possessors, and their executors, administrators and assigns, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever." 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 229.

A slave cannot bring a suit against his master or any other person for an injury. His master may bring an action against a third person for an injury of his property. But this is a poor protection of the slave; for, first, it weakens the motive of the master to protect the slave. If the injury were to come upon his own pocket he would be more careful to prevent it. Secondly, the master can recover nothing, unless the injury deteriorates the value—which it may not do, although in itself very great. The Supreme Court of Maryland has decided :

"There must be, a loss of service, or at least, a diminution of the faculty of the slave for bodily labor, to warrant an action by the master." 1 *Harris and Johnson's Reports*, 4. *Cornfute vs. Dale.*

North Carolina has the following law :

Be it enacted, &c. That if any person shall hereafter be guilty of wilfully and maliciously killing a slave, such offender shall, upon the first conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of murder, and shall suffer the same punishment as if he had killed a free man; *Provided always, this act shall not extend to the person killing a slave outlawed by virtue of any act of assembly of this state, or to any slave in the act of resistance to his lawful owner or master, OR TO ANY SLAVE DYING UNDER MODERATE CORRECTION.*" *Haywood's Manual*, 530; and see *Laws of Tennessee, act of Oct. 23, 1799*, with a like proviso.

The Constitution of Georgia has the following: Art. 4, Sec. 12.

"Any person who shall maliciously dismember or deprive a slave of life, shall suffer such punishment as would be inflicted in case the like offence had been committed on a free white person, and on the like proof, except in case of insurrection of such slave, and unless SUCH DEATH SHOULD HAPPEN BY ACCIDENT IN GIVING SUCH SLAVE MODERATE CORRECTION." *Prince's Digest*, 559.

Judge Stroud remarks,

"That a proclamation of *outlawry* against a slave is authorized, whenever he runs away from his master, conceals himself in some obscure retreat, and, to sustain life, kills a *hog*, or some animal of the cattle kind!!" See *Haywood's Manual*, 521; act of 1741, ch. 24, Sec. 45.

Here follows a proclamation of outlawry.

"STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, }
Lenoir County." }

"Whereas complaint hath been this day made to us, two of the justices of the peace for the said county, by William D. Cobb, of Jones county, that two negro slaves belonging to him, named BEN (commonly known by the name of *Ben Fox*) and RIGDON, have absented themselves from their said master's service, and are lurking about in the counties of Lenoir and Jones, committing acts of felony;—these are, in the name of the state, to command the said slaves forthwith to surrender themselves, and turn home to their said master. And we do hereby also require the sheriff of said county of Lenoir to make diligent search and pursuit after the above-mentioned slaves; and them having found, to apprehend and secure so that they may be conveyed to their said master, or otherwise discharged as the law directs. And the said sheriff is hereby empowered to raise and take with him such power of his county as he shall think fit for the apprehension of said slaves. And we do hereby, by virtue of an act of Assembly of this state, concerning servants and slaves, intimate and declare, if the said slaves do not surrender themselves, and return home to their master immediately after the publication of these presents, *that any person may kill and destroy said slaves by such means as he or they think fit, without accusation or impeachment of any crime or offence for so doing, or without incurring any penalty or forfeiture thereby.*

"Given under our hands and seals, this 12th of November, 1836.

B. COLEMAN, J. P. [Seal.]
 JAS. JONES, J. P., [Seal.]

TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.—Ranaway from the subscriber, about three years ago, a certain negro man

named Ben, (commonly known by the name of Ben Fox.) Also, one other negro, by the name of Rigdon, who ran away on the 8th of this month.

I will give the reward of one hundred dollars for each of the above negroes, to be delivered to me or confined in the jail of Lenoir or Jones county, or *for the killing of them, so that I can see them.*

W. D. COBB.

November 12, 1836.

In South Carolina by the Act of 1740 the "wilful murder", of a slave was punished by a fine of "seven hundred pounds, current money" and inability to hold office, but another description of murder, more likely to occur, was punished as follows:—

"If any person shall, on a sudden heat or passion, or by *undue correction*, kill his own slave, or the slave of any other person, he shall forfeit the sum of *three hundred and fifty pounds*, current money." *Brevard's Digest*, 241.

By an act of 1821, the former provision was abolished, but the latter was continued, diminishing the price to five hundred dollars, and authorizing an imprisonment of six months. *James' Digest*, 392.

The following *protection* for the limbs of the slave has been in force, in South Carolina from 1740 to the present time:

"In case any person shall wilfully cut out the tongue, put out the eye, castrate, or *cruelly* scald, burn, or deprive any slave of any limb, or member, or shall inflict *any other cruel punishment, other than by whipping or beating with a horsewhip*, cowskin, switch, or small stick, or by *putting irons on, or confining or imprisoning such slave*, every such person shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, current money." 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 241.

Louisiana imposes a heavier penalty for *taking off irons* than she does for the "*cruel punishments*," specified above, as appears from this:

"If any person or persons, &c. shall cut or break any iron chain or collar, which any master of slaves should have used in order to prevent the running away or escape of any such slave or slaves, such person or persons so offending shall, on conviction, &c. be fined not less than two hundred dollars, nor exceeding one thousand dollars; and suffer imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, nor less than six months." *Act of Assembly, of March 6, 1819—pamphlet, page 64.*

Now in the same state, the law before quoted from South Carolina is in force and the penalty is a fine of *not more than five hundred dollars, nor less than two hundred!*

All of the above Laws that restrict the master's power are based upon the assumption that the slave submits to him; but the following Laws in connection with the foregoing, prove that the Slave Laws do *not profess to afford even the shadow of any protection even to the slave's life, unless he yields implicit obedience.*

"If any slave shall *happen* to be slain for refusing to surrender him or herself, contrary to law, or in unlawful resisting any officer or *other person*, who shall apprehend or endeavor to apprehend, such slave or slaves, &c., such officer or *other person so killing such slave as aforesaid*, making resistance, shall be, and he is by this act, *indemnified* from any prosecution for such killing aforesaid, &c.'" *Maryland Laws, act of 1751, chap. 14, sec. 9.*

And by the negro act of 1740, of South Carolina, it is declared,

"If any slave, who shall be out of the house or plantation where such slave shall live, or shall be usually employed, or without some white person in company with such slave, shall *refuse to submit* to undergo the examination of *any white person*, it shall be lawful for such white person to pursue, apprehend and moderately correct such slave; and if such slave shall assault and strike such white person, such slave may be *lawfully killed!!*" *2 Brevard's Digest, 231.*

THE PENAL CODES of the slaveholding states, bear much more severely upon the slaves than upon the whites. See *Stroud, pp. 99—119.*

Judge Ruffin, of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, in one of his judicial decisions says:

"The slave, to remain a slave, must feel that there is *no appeal from his master*. No man can anticipate the provocations which the slave would give; nor the consequent wrath of the master prompting him to bloody vengeance on the turbulent traitor, a vengeance generally practised with impunity by reason of its privacy." See *Wheeler's Law of Slavery, p. 247.*

The following extracts are from an address to the Presbyterians of Kentucky by a committee of the Synod of Kentucky, signed John Brown, Esq., Chairman, John C. Young, Secretary.

"Not only has the slave no right to his wife and children, he has no right even to himself. His very body, his muscles, his bones, his flesh, are all the property of another. The movements of his limbs are regulated by the will of a master. He may be sold, like a beast of the field—he may be transported, in chains, like a felon.

"The time was, in our own as well as in other countries, when even the life of the slave was absolutely in the hands of the master. It is not so now among us. The life of a bondman cannot be taken with impunity. But the law extends its protection no further. Cruelty may be carried to any extent, provided life be spared. Mangling, imprisonment, starvation, every species of torture, may be inflicted upon him, and he has no redress."

A case of the following character recently occurred in New Orleans.

A master in that city sent a bright mulatto slave boy (Auguste) to one of the city prisons for discipline, ordering the jailor to whip him daily. The boy was at length sent on his way home, in the care of an old colored man.

The editor of the New Orleans Picayune met him in the street, and being apprehensive, injured as he was, that he would not reach home alive, had him taken to the Recorder's office, where he was examined by physicians and sent to the Charity Hospital, where, after remaining three weeks, he was unable to be removed to his home.

The editor of the Picayune gave publicity to this circumstance, and described the boy's back as "*one mass of raw, trembling, and partly putrid flesh.*" The owner of the boy instituted suit against the editor for libel, and claimed damages, for giving publicity to this act of cruelty. The New Orleans Tropic of ——— stated that the Attorney-General gave it as his opinion that there was no law to punish either the master who ordered the whipping, or the jailor who inflicted it.

Reader, such is the slave's condition when force is employed to compel submission to the master's authority. And, on the other hand, when fraud is resorted to, or the kind of frauds alluded to in the following pages, his condition is even made *much worse*, and the masters prove themselves still more fiendlike and demoniacal as they, with an excess of cruelty which even devils would blush to employ, keep the slave in brutal ignorance, and then, taking advantage of that ignorance, they tell him that he cannot hope to escape hell and reach heaven unless he implicitly obeys his master.

They hold up to the slave, on the one hand, the terrors of never-ending torments, and, on the other, they seize upon his hope of a better and happier future. This "hope, which springs eternal in the human breast," which transports us to regions of bliss, to the company of Angels, where we hear the Archangel's tramp and the voices of the

redeemed, as they sing the praises of the Lamb, is employed as the most effectual instrument to crush and to subjugate him. While they profess to teach him the religion of Christ, in the name of that religion, they offer him salvation and "the reward of the inheritance," on conditions that he will submit to his master and be "faithful" and "diligent."

When the master, or the master's agent, (the miserable priest,) by practising upon the poor ignorant slave's credulity and religious feelings, succeed in making him believe that he owes a religious duty to his master or mistress, and that his supreme rule of duty and measure of morality consists in yielding implicit obedience to their commands, his market value is thereby enhanced. It is a fact, well known, that such a slave will sell, on the auction-block or elsewhere, for a higher price than those who remain unconverted to such a belief.

I have heard Dr. Brisbane state in an anti-slavery meeting, and reiterate it in the social circle, that, on his visit to South Carolina in 1844, a slaveholder there told him that religion had done more for him with his slaves than four wagon-loads of cowskins.

Dr. Bailey, the editor of the Cincinnati Herald and Philanthropist, writing from Stony Creek, Sussex county, Va. October 26, 1844, states that he attended a Baptist meeting there, and that the minister, before commencing his sermon, read a certificate from the owner of a slave present, stating that his woman Rhoda had his consent to unite with the Baptist Church. The preacher remarked that it was the custom of the Baptists, all through the South, to admit no slave to their fellowship without the consent of the master. The woman was then called forward to give her experience. He asked her divers questions. What led her to seek a hope in the Saviour? She "had a desire to." Had she felt any distress? Yes—she was in mighty distress for a long time, Why was she distressed? She was afraid to die, because she had led a bad life. Had she now a hope in Christ? O, yes—every day. Had she seen her way clear, ever since her change? Yes—all the time. Had her hope in the Saviour led her to feel the duty of "being a *dutiful servant*?" Yes. The preacher here turned to the congregation, and observed, that this was a question he always put. Whatever others might do, he never would baptize any servant, whatever his desire and profession, if his religion did not make him a dutiful, faithful servant. The question here asked of

the poor woman was not, Is your master a Christian? and will he permit you to obey God and perform your Christian duties? though this were impossible for her to do while held as a slave. Christ said, "ye cannot serve two masters;" "call no man master," but whatever that master might be, the question was, "does your hope in the Saviour lead you to feel the duty of being a dutiful servant," of obeying him even should he be the hardened wretch referred to in the following letter:

While on the Alabama circuit, I spent the Sabbath with an old circuit preacher, who was also a doctor living near "the Horse-shoe," celebrated as Gen. Jackson's battle ground. On Monday morning early he was reading "Pope's Messiah" to me, when his wife called him out. I glanced my eye out of the window and saw a slave man standing by, and they consulting over him. Presently the doctor took a raw-hide from under his coat and began to cut up the half naked back of the slave. I saw six or seven inches of the skin turn up perfectly white at every stroke, until the whole back was red with gore. The lacerated man cried out some at first; but at every blow the doctor cried "*Won't ye hush! Won't ye hush!*" till the slave finally stood still and groaned. As soon as he had done, the doctor came in panting, almost out of breath, and addressing me said, "*Won't you go to prayer with us sir?*" I fell upon my knees and prayed, but what I said I knew not. When I came out, the poor creature had crept up and knelt by the door during prayer, and his back was a gore of blood quite to his heels.

Rev. J. Boucher.

Or the miserable slave-driver thus described by a slave state paper:

FROM THE MILLENIAL TRUMPETER, TENN.

"Droves of negroes chained together, in dozens, and scores, and hand-cuffed, have been driven through our country in numbers far surpassing any previous year. And these vile slave drivers and dealers are swarming like buzzards round a carrion, throughout this country. You cannot pass a few miles in the great roads, without having every feeling of humanity insulted and lacerated by this spectacle. Nor can you go into any county, or any neighborhood scarcely, without seeing or hearing of some of those despicable creatures, called negro drivers."

"WHO IS A NEGRO DRIVER? One whose eyes dwell with delight on lacerated bodies of helpless men, women, and children. Whose soul feels diabolical raptures at the chains, and handcuffs, and cart whips, for inflicting tortures on weeping mothers torn from helpless babes; and on husbands and wives torn asunder forever. Who is a negro driver? An execrable demon, who is only prevented by want of power, follow citizens,

from driving your wives, and sons, and daughters, in chains and hand-cuffs with the blood-stained cartwhip, to market. Yea, his hardened heart would make but little difference, whether he made his ill-gotten gain by selling them to a merciless cotton or sugar grower, or by sending them directly to the flames of hell. Is your insulted humanity, ye sons of Tennessee, your insulted sense of right and wrong; your abused conviction of the rights of man satisfied, by saying the tears, and groans, and blood of these human droves, are not the tears, and groans, and blood of our wives, children, brothers, and fathers; or these "blood-snuffing vultures" of hell should not set their polluted tread on our soil with impunity?

The Rev. Mr. Jones, a Missionary among the slaves, recently published a report of his labors in the Christian Index in Georgia, in which occurs the following passage:

"I was preaching to a large congregation on *the epistle to Philemon*; and when I insisted upon fidelity and obedience as Christian virtues in servants and upon the authority of Paul, condemned the practice of *running away*, one half of my audience deliberately rose up and walked off with themselves, and those that remained looked anything but satisfied, either with the preacher or his doctrine. After dismission, there was no small stir among them: some solemnly declared 'that there was no such epistle in the Bible;' others, 'that it was not the Gospel;' others, 'that I preached to please the masters;' others, 'that they did not care if they ever heard me preach again.'"

This statement of Mr. Jones proves two things:

1. It proves that in preaching to the slaves they insist upon obedience to their masters as a Christian duty.

2. It proves also that religion had not done more for the masters of these slaves "than four wagon loads of cow-skins."

The Charlestown South Carolina Mercury has become perfectly satisfied with these Missionary efforts among the slaves.

"No longer" says that paper "than ten or twelve years since when the plan of sending the missionaries to our blacks was first entered upon, we all remember the opposition it raised among many of our planters who were averse to it as an innovation fraught with ill consequences, they could not tell what, but which they were determined not to risk. As all thinking men foresaw, their fears have proved perfectly groundless, and we venture to say, not one who has made the experiment but will heartily subscribe to the soundness of Bishop Berkeley's observations; what prejudice still exists we are sure a very few years more of trial will remove."

The following extracts are taken from the proceedings

of a meeting held in Charleston, South Carolina, May 13th to 15th, 1845, on the Religious Instruction of Negroes, which were published by order of the meeting. In March previous to this meeting, a circular was addressed to a number of gentlemen in South Carolina and Georgia, signed by Daniel Elliott Huger and 23 others. The circular sought for information on the subject "of the influence of religious instruction upon the discipline of plantations, and the spirit and the subordination of the negroes."

James Edward Henry writes from Spartansburgh District, May, 1845, as follows:

"A near neighbor of mine, a prominent member of the Church to which he belonged, had contented himself with giving his people the usual religious privileges. About six months ago he commenced giving them special religious instruction. He used Jones' Catechism principally. * * He states that he has now comparatively no trouble in their management."

Thomas Cook writes from Marlborough District, May, 1845:

"Plantations under religious instruction are more easily governed than those that are not."

John Dyson writes from Sumpter District, May, 1845:

"Upon the discipline and subordination of plantations, religious instruction will be found generally and decidedly beneficial."

William Curtis writes from Richland District, May, 1845:

"I have found the owners of plantations around not only willing but desirous that we should preach to their negroes; and they find, as they expect, a better spirit and subordination among them."

James Gillam writes from Abbeville District, May, 1845:

"The deeper the piety of the slave, the more valuable is he in every sense of the word."

Nicholas Ware writes from Brownsville, Marlborough District, May, 1845:

"All our negroes have, to a great extent, grown up under religious instruction. * * We scarcely hear of depredations upon stock, &c. They are more obedient and more to be depended on. *We have few or no runaways*, and corporeal punishment is but seldom resorted to."

N. R. Middleton writes from St. Andrew's Parish, May, 1845 :

"A regard to self interest should lead every planter to give his people religious instruction."

John Rivers writes from Colleton District, May, 1845 :

"Religious instruction promotes the discipline and subordination on plantations."

A committee of seven, with Daniel E. Huger, as chairman, was appointed by the meeting to prepare and publish an address to the holders of slaves in South Carolina. The committee say :

"We are led by this consideration to another topic, upon which several papers in the report give a gratifying testimony, namely, the effects of the religious instruction of negroes upon *labor* and upon *discipline*. * * A wise management would combine kindness with discipline, and aim at making *labor effective* and the laborer happy. * * Would we most naturally look for effective labor in the dissolute, the unprincipled, and the discontented? or in those who are godly and honest, regular in their habits, and satisfied with their condition?"

But, notwithstanding the slaveholder is so well satisfied with this "special religious instruction," when it is given by his white agent, he is dissatisfied with the colored teachers who preach *submission* to their slaves.

J. Stuart Hanchel writes from St. Andrew's Parish, May, 1845 :

"Planters generally are encouraged by the good resulting from religious instruction, and I refer you to their testimony. There are colored Methodist and Baptist religious teachers, and the 'practical results' of the teaching of these preachers, or class-leaders, or watchmen, (so far as my experience goes,) are decidedly bad.

"But what is the character of much of the so called Christianity of these poor bondmen? Let Dr. Lafon, who was once a master and a trafficker of slaves himself, answer the question. "In the Slave States of this country, it is claimed that there are many thousands of slaves who have been hopefully converted to God. *Without undertaking to say that these supposed conversions are spurious, we do say on the testimony of those well qualified to form a correct opinion in the premises that the religion of a large portion of the degraded slaves, consists chiefly in superstition, fanatical practices, and an obsequious servility to the tyrants who rule them.*"

This is the object of the teachings of such a religion; it is to make the slave servile and obsequious.

From the Presbyterian Advocate.

"THE SYNOD OF VIRGINIA, at its recent meeting in Norfolk, passed the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the ministers belonging to this Synod to preach to the colored people specially, and statedly as far as practicable.

2. *Resolved*, That the Synod would recommend, wherever it may be practicable, the establishment of Sabbath Schools for the ORAL instruction of the colored people."

Stated and special preaching. Its character has been somewhat illustrated in the foregoing pages, and its object explained; but the following extracts from a Book of Sermons, Tracts and Dialogues, collected and published by Rev. Wm. Meade, of Virginia, and recommended by him to all masters and mistresses, to be used in their families, (printed at Winchester, Va. by John Hieskel,) still further illustrates its character and object.

In the preface to the book, Bishop Meade remarks:

"The editor of this volume offers it to all masters and mistresses in our southern states, with the anxious wish and devout prayer that it may prove a blessing to themselves and their households. He considers himself most happy in having met with the several pieces which compose it, and could not with a quiet conscience refrain from affording to others the opportunity of profiting thereby."

The committee of the Charleston meeting, before referred to, thus speak of Mr. Meade's efforts:

"It is well known that the venerable Bishop Meade, of the Diocese of Virginia, has for very many years been a zealous, and able, and untiring advocate of this good work, as well as laborer himself in the field."

In the book published by the Rev. Wm. Meade, there are two sermons upon this text:

"Knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive from the Lord, whether he be bond or free."

Two or three pages follow this text, and then appears this sentence: "Here masters may begin to read to their servants." See page 90. Then follows—

"I have chosen a text of Scripture which I could wish you all had by heart and would all remember, because it shows you what a great friend you may have in Heaven, if you will but take any pains to gain his favor."

The providences of God are spoken of, "His making the sun to shine the rain to fall," &c.

And on page 93, he says :

"Some he hath made masters and mistresses for taking care of their children and others that belong to them. * * * *
Some he hath made servants and slaves, to assist and work for their masters and mistresses, that provide for them; and others he hath made ministers and teachers, to instruct the rest, to show them what they ought to do, and to put them in mind of their several duties."

And on pages 94 and 95, he says :

"Besides, when poople die, we know of but two places they have to go to, and that is, heaven or hell; so that whoever misses the one, must go to the other. Now heaven is a place of great happiness, which God hath prepared for all that are good, where they shall enjoy rest from their labors, and a blessedness which shall never have an end. And hell is a place of great torment and misery, where all wicked people will be shut up with the devil and other evil spirits, and be punished forever, because they will not serve God. If, therefore, we would have our souls saved by Christ; if we would escape hell and obtain heaven, we must set about doing what he requires of us, that is, to serve God. Your own poor circumstances in this life ought to put you particularly upon this and taking care of your souls; for you cannot have the pleasures and enjoyments of this life like rich free people, who have estates and money to lay out as they think fit. If others will run the hazard of their souls, they have a chance of getting wealth and power, of heaping up riches and enjoying all the ease, luxury and pleasure their hearts should long after. But you can have none of these things; so that if you sell your souls for the sake of what poor matters you can get in this world, you have made a very foolish bargain indeed. Almighty God hath been pleased to make you slaves here, and to give you nothing but labor and poverty in this world, which you are obliged to submit to, as it is his will that it should be so. And think within yourselves what a terrible thing it would be, after all your labors and sufferings in this life, to be turned into hell in the next life; and after wearing out your bodies in service here, to go into a far worse slavery when this is over, and your poor souls be delivered over into the possession of the devil, to become his slaves for ever in hell, without any hope of ever getting free from it. If, therefore, you would be God's freemen in heaven, you must strive to be good and serve him here on earth. Your bodies, you know, are not your own: they are at the disposal of those you belong to; but your precious souls are still your own, which nothing can take from you, if it be not your own fault. Consider well, then, that if you lose your souls by leading idle, wicked lives here, you have got nothing by it in this world, and you have lost your all in the next. For your idleness and wickedness is generally

found out, and your bodies suffer for it here; and what is far worse, if you do not repent and amend, your unhappy souls will suffer for it hereafter."

"Having thus shown you the chief duties you owe to your great Master in heaven, I now come to lay before you the duties you owe your masters and mistresses here upon earth. And for this you have one general rule that you ought always carry in your minds; and that is, *to do all service for them as if you did it for God himself*. Poor creatures! you little consider; when you steal, and waste, and hurt any of their substance; when you are saucy and impudent; when you are *idle and neglectful* of your master's *business*; when you are telling them lies and deceiving them; or when you prove stubborn and sullen, and will not do the work you are set about without strifes and vexation; you do not consider; I say, that what faults you are guilty of towards your masters and mistresses, are faults done against God himself, who hath set your masters and mistresses over you in his own stead, and expects that you will do for them just as you would do for him. And pray do not think that I want to deceive you, when I tell you that your *masters and mistresses* are God's *overseers*; and that if you are faulty towards them, God himself will punish you severely for it in the next world, unless *you repent of it*, and strive to make amends by your *faithfulness and diligence for the time to come*; for God himself hath declared the same." See page 104.

"Now from this general rule, namely, that you are to *do all service for your masters and mistresses as if you did it for God himself*, there arise several other rules of duty towards your masters and mistresses, which I shall endeavor to lay out in order before you.

"And in the first place, *you are to be obedient and subject to your masters in all things*. * * * And Christian ministers are commanded to '*exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things, not answering again, or gainsaying*.' You see how strictly God requires this of you; that whatever your *masters and mistresses* order you to do, you must set about it immediately, and faithfully perform it, without any disputing or grumbling, and take care to please them well in all things. And for your encouragement he tells you, that he will reward you for it in heaven: because while you are honestly and faithfully doing your master's business here, you are serving your Lord and Master in heaven. You see, also, that you are not to take any exceptions to the behavior of your masters and mistresses; and that you are to be subject and obedient, not only to such as are *good, and gentle, and mild* towards you, but also to such as may be *froward, peevish, and hard*. For you are not at liberty to choose your own masters, but into whatever hands God hath been pleased to put you, you must do your duty, and God will reward you for it.

2. You are *not to be eye servants*. Now *eye servants* are such as will work hard and seem mighty diligent while they

think any body is taking notice of them, but when their masters' and mistresses' backs are turned, they are idle and neglect their business. I am afraid there are a great many such eye servants among you, and that you do not consider how great a sin it is to be so, and how severely God will punish you for it. You may easily deceive your owners, and make them have an opinion of you that you do not deserve, and get the praise of men by it; but remember that you cannot deceive almighty God, who sees your wickedness and deceit, and will punish you accordingly. For the rule is, that you must *obey your masters in all things*, and do the work they set you about *with fear and trembling, in singleness of heart as unto Christ; not with eye service as men pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good will doing service as to the Lord, and not as to men*. If, then, you would but say within yourselves, 'My master hath set me about this work, and his back is turned, so that I may loiter and idle if I please, for he does not see me; but there is my *great Master* in heaven, whose overseer my other master is, and his eyes are always upon me and taking notice of me, and I cannot get any where out of his sight, nor be idle without his knowing it; and what will become of me, if I lose his good will and make him angry with me?' if, I say, you would once get the way of thinking and saying thus upon all occasions, you then would do what God commands you, and serve your masters with singleness of heart, that is, with honesty and sincerity, and do the work you are set about with fear and trembling, not for fear of your masters and mistresses upon earth, (for you may easily cheat them, and make them believe you are doing their business when you do not,) but with *fear and trembling* lest God your heavenly Master, whom you cannot deceive, should call you to account, and punish you in the next world, for your *deceitfulness and eye service* in this.

"3. You are to be *faithful and honest to your masters and mistresses, not purloining* (or wasting their goods or substance,) *but showing all good fidelity in all things*. * * Do not your masters, under God, provide for you? And how shall they be able to do this, to feed and to clothe you, unless you take honest care of every thing that belongs to them? Remember that God requires this of you, and if you are not afraid of suffering for it here, you cannot escape the vengeance of almighty God, who will judge between you and your masters, and make you pay severely *in the next world*, for all the injustice you do them here. And though you could manage so cunningly as to escape the eyes and hands of man, yet think what a dreadful thing it is to fall *into the hands of the living God, who is able to cast both soul and body into hell!*

"4. You are to *serve your masters with cheerfulness, reverence, and humility*. You are to do your masters' service *with good will*, doing it as *the will of God from the heart*, without any sauciness or answering again. How many of you do

things quite otherwise, and instead of going about your work with a good will and a good heart, *dispute* and *grumble*, give saucy answers, and behave in a surly manner! There is something so becoming and engaging in a modest, cheerful, good natured behavior, that a little work done in that manner seems better done and gives far more satisfaction than a great deal more that must be done with fretting, vexation, and the lash always held over you. It also gains the good will and love of those you belong to, and makes your own life pass with more ease and pleasure. Besides, you are to consider that this *grumbling* and *ill will* does not affect your *masters* and *mistresses* only. They have ways and means in their hands of forcing you to do your work, whether you are willing or not. But your *murmuring* and *grumbling* is against *God*, who hath placed you in that service, who will punish you severely in the next world for despising his commands."

And again on page 116 :

"*All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them; that is, do by all mankind just as you would desire they should do by you, if you were in their place and they in yours.*"

"Now to suit this rule to your particular circumstances; suppose you were masters and mistresses and had servants under you, would you not desire that your servants should do their business *faithfully* and *honestly*, as well when your back was turned as while you were looking over them? Would you not expect that they should take notice of what you said to them? That they should behave themselves with respect towards you and yours, and be as careful of everything belonging to you as you would be yourselves? You are servants, do therefore, as you would wish to be done by, and you will be both good servants to your masters, and good servants to God, who requires this of you, and will reward you well for it, if you do it for the sake of conscience, in obedience to his commands."

According to this construction of the golden rule a robber upon the highway could put a pistol to a traveler's breast and demand his purse, he could say, Sir, if you were a robber and in my place, and I was in yours, would you not desire that I should hand my purse over to you, "*do therefore as you would wish to be done by.*" If you were a slavsholder and were daily and hourly robbing human beings of all their earnings, of everything dear to humanity, would you not desire that your victims would submit to your outrages? You are slaves, therefore you must do as you would wish to be done by, and submit to these outrages. Devils would blush to justify the wrong they do by such bare-faced perversions as the above.

Then, again on pages 131 and 132:

Take care that you do not *fret* or *murmur*, *grumble* or *repine*, at your condition; for this will not only make your life uneasy, but will greatly offend Almighty God. Consider that it is not yourselves—it is not the people that you belong to—it is not the men that have brought you to it—but it is the will of God, who hath by his providence, made you servants, because, no doubt, he knew that condition would be best for you in this world, and help you the better towards heaven, if you would but do your duty in it. So that any discontent at your not being free or rich, or great, as you see some others, is quarrelling with your heavenly master and finding fault with God himself, who hath made you what you are, and hath promised you as large a share in the kingdom of heaven as the greatest man alive, if you will but behave yourself aright, and do the business he hath set you about in this world honestly and cheerfully. Riches and power have proved the ruin of many an unhappy soul, by drawing away the heart and affections from God and fixing them on mean and sinful enjoyments; so that when God, who knows our hearts better than we know them ourselves, sees that they would be hurtful to us, and, therefore, keeps them from us. It is the greatest mercy and kindness he could show us.

You may perhaps fancy, that if you had riches and freedom, you could do your duty to God and man with greater pleasure than you can now. But pray, consider that if you can but save your souls, through the mercy of God, you will have spent your time to the best of purposes in this world; and he that at last can get to Heaven has performed a noble journey let the road be ever so rugged and difficult. Besides you really have a great advantage over most white people, who have not only the care of their daily labor upon their hands, but the care of looking forward and providing necessaries for to-morrow and next day, and of clothing and bringing up their children, and of getting food and raiment for as many of you as belong to their families, which often puts them to great difficulties and distracts their minds so as to break their rest, and take off their thoughts from the affairs of another world. Whereas you are quite eased from all these cares and have nothing but your daily labor to look after, and when that is done take your needful rest. Neither is it necessary for you to think of laying up anything against old age, as white people are obliged to do; for the laws of the country have provided that you shall not be turned off when you are past labor, but shall be maintained while you live, by those you belong to, whether you are able to work or not. And these are great and real advantages, for which, if you consider things rightly, you cannot but thank Almighty God, who hath so wisely provided for your well being here, and your eternal happiness hereafter. There is only one circumstance which may appear grievous, that I shall now take notice of, and that is CORRECTION.

Now when *correction* is given you, you either deserve it, or you do not deserve it. But whether you really deserve it or not, it is your duty and Almighty God requires that you bear it patiently. You may, perhaps, think that this a hard doctrine, but if you consider it right you must needs think otherwise of it. Suppose then, that you deserve correction, you cannot but say that it is just and right, you should meet with it. Suppose you do not, or at least you do not deserve so much, or so severe a correction for the fault you have committed, you perhaps have escaped a great many more, and are at last paid for all. Or suppose you are quite innocent of what is laid to your charge, and suffer wrongfully in that particular thing, is it not possible you may have done some other bad thing which was never discovered; and that Almighty God who saw you doing it would not let you escape without punishment one time or another? And ought you not in such a case to give glory to Him, and be thankful that he would rather punish you in this life for your wickedness, than destroy your souls for it in the next life? But suppose that even this was not the case, (a case hardly to be imagined,) and that you have by no means, *known* or *unknown*, deserved the correction you suffered, there is this great comfort in it, that if you bear it patiently, and leave your cause in the hands of God, he will reward you for it in heaven, and the punishment you suffer unjustly here, shall turn to your exceeding great glory hereafter."

As the slaves are prevented from learning to read, they are fit subjects to be duped with special preaching and oral instruction. Rev. Joshua Boucher, formerly a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, states that the slaves of the South are told that God made them black with the design that they should be slaves; and that, when travelling and preaching in the South, another preacher, belonging to the same church, related the following conversation, which took place between himself and a slave boy:

Minister. "Have you any religion?"

Boy. "No, sir."

Minister. "Don't you want religion?"

Boy. "No, sir."

Minister. "Don't you love God?"

Boy. "What! me love God, who made me with a black skin and white man to whip me!"

A man, who had been held as a slave near Gen. John H. Cocke's plantation, in Virginia, where a meeting-house was erected to afford slaves an opportunity of listening to special preaching, asked me if it was in the Bible that he should be a slave, and said they had always told him it was there, that they (the colored people) should be slaves.

If slavery be right, all the means necessary for holding

slaves in subjection must *also* be right ; and the treatment to which I have here referred, being the natural and legitimate fruits of the system, and essential to its continuance, cannot be otherwise than right.

If slavery is a divine institution, if it has a divine sanction, then it follows that the master has the right to rule over his slave and enforce obedience ; and if the slave shall refuse to submit to his master, in that extremity he has the right to take his life. Without this right, the master could not compel submission. It therefore follows that it is the slave's duty to obey. He can have no rights incompatible with those belonging to his master. Where one has the right to rule, it is the duty of the subject of that rule to obey. This must be plain and obvious to all—as our rights and our duties never conflict, but always harmonize.

The master having the right to compel submission, and it being the duty of the slave to submit, it follows that it is the duty of the preacher to teach him his duty in this respect, and to inform him that, unless he does obey, he cannot hope to obtain the reward of the inheritance, but will be eternally punished for disobedience.

It being the slave's duty to obey, if he is taught this duty his "hope in the Saviour must lead him to feel it to be his duty to be a dutiful, faithful slave." And to carry out the legitimate conclusions from the premises assumed, that slavery has a divine sanction ; if the master cannot compel submission, it is as much our duty to aid him in this contingency as it is to assist him to extinguish the flames that are consuming his house. No logician, I apprehend, would risk his reputation by denying the correctness of any of these conclusions. The premises fully justify them all.

It follows, then, that a pro-slavery religion can consistently teach no doctrines or duties which are inconsistent with, or will interfere with, the master's authority over his slave. It must, to be consistent with itself, teach the slave the duty of yielding implicit obedience to his master's authority, and threaten him with Divine displeasure if he does not obey. No man, then, who claims for slavery a divine sanction, can find fault with any of the necessary means for holding slaves in subjection ; and, according to his views, this special preaching is the *pure gospel*, the laws quoted *are right*, and the whips, manacles, &c. are *sanctified*.

Such are the doctrines of a pro-slavery religion ; a reli-

gion whose votaries control all the large churches of our land. Its professors have established a tyranny over mind which, if not broken, will sweep away every thing dear to man. In the exercise of this tyranny over mind, they try to compel all to worship at the shrine of this bloody Moloch. They cast out "as evil" the names of those who refuse to worship there. Branding them with the odious epithets of infidel and fanatic, they invoke mob violence to aid them in maintaining their own power, and in putting down all that oppose it. In the North, it is in defence of the church that mobs gather to abuse anti-slavery men, and put down the anti-slavery lecturer. And, under the influence of a public sentiment created by these professors, slavery lives, and crime, popular crime, both North and South, as a general thing, goes unrebuked.

Slaveholding is the most popular crime in this country. The large churches of the land do not rebuke it. Some members of those churches, it is true, talk against it, but they will church a man for stealing a chicken or a sheep, and they will fellowship, as a good brother, him who steals men, women and children—him who is guilty of the greatest crimes that have ever been committed—crimes that would disgrace the worshippers of Juggernaut.

In the triennial convention of the Baptists, held in Philadelphia in 1844, Dr. Brisbane attempted to speak of his repentance of the sin he had committed in once holding slaves. The slaveholders, and the northern professors of a slaveholding religion, stung to the quick by this implied censure of their own conduct, would not permit him to proceed.

At one time, many preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church did speak out and preach against slavery, but they were soon overawed and silenced by the slaveholding power in the church. Soon after the meeting of the General Conference in 1836, the Bishops issued their Pastoral Address, enjoining silence upon the Ministry on the subject of slavery, throughout the entire body. They say in their address:

"These facts which are only mentioned here as a reason for the friendly admonition which we wish to give you, constrain us as your pastors, who are called to watch over your souls, as they must give an account, to exhort you to abstain from all Abolition movements and associations, and to refrain from patronizing any of their publications, &c.

"From every view of the subject which we have been able to take, and from the most calm and dispassionate survey of

the whole ground, we have come to the conclusion, that the only safe, scriptural, and prudent way for us, both as ministers and people, to take, is, wholly to refrain from this agitating subject," &c.

From this time it was a disciplinary offence to agitate the subject in the Church. It was rebellion against Slavery's God to do this. And after this mandate had gone forth from *Slavery's Priests*, those preachers who had before spoken against Slavery were to be seen standing up in their pulpits, with the ghost of a pad lock hanging to their sacred lips, either observing the silence of death on this subject, or else exciting popular vengeance against the Abolitionists.

Miss Harriet Martineau traveled throughout the Southern states, and remarks :

"Of the Presbyterian, as well as other clergy of the South, some are even planters, superintending the toils of their slaves, and making purchases, or effecting sales in the slave-markets, during the week, and preaching on Sundays whatever they can devise that is least contradictory to their daily practice. I watched closely the preaching in the South—that of all denominations—to see what could be made of Christianity, "the highest fact in the Rights of Man," in such a region. I found the stricter religionists preaching reward and punishment in connection with modes of belief, and hatred to the Catholics. I found the more philosophical preaching for or against materialism, and diverging to phrenology. I found the more quiet and "gentlemanly" preaching harmless abstractions,—the four seasons, the attributes of the Deity, prosperity and adversity, &c. I heard one clergyman who always goes out of the room when the subject of negro emancipation is mentioned, or when slavery is found fault with, preach in a southern city against following a multitude to do evil. I heard one noble religious discourse from the Rev. Joel Parker, a Presbyterian clergyman, of New Orleans; but except that one, I never heard any available reference made to the grand truths of religion, or principles of morals. The great principles which regard the three relations to God, man, and self,—striving after perfection, mutual justice and charity, and christian liberty,—were never touched upon. Meantime, the clergy were pretending to find express sanctions of slavery in the Bible; and putting words to this purpose into the mouths of public men, who do not profess to remember the existence of the Bible in any other connection. The clergy were boasting at public meetings, that there was not a periodical south of the Potomac which did not advocate slavery; and some were even setting up a magazine, whose "fundamental principle is, that man ought to be the property of man." The clergy, who were to

be sent as delegates to the General Assembly, were receiving instructions to leave the room, if the subject of slavery was mentioned; and to propose the cessation of the practice of praying for slaves."

This same Rev. Joel Parker of whom she speaks, when on a visit to New England, preached about the sins of the South. Information of this reached New Orleans before his return, and when he landed upon the wharves of that city, he was met by an infuriated mob, which compelled him, in order to save his life, to retract the obnoxious sentiments, and to apologise for what he had said. Since then he has been recreant to every principle of justice and humanity.

What are the sins of the South? They are not confined to holding slaves by force and fraud.

"We long to see the day," said the Governor of Kentucky in his message to the Legislature, 1837, "when the law will assert its majesty and stop the wanton destruction of life which almost daily occurs within the jurisdiction of this commonwealth. MEN SLAUGHTER EACH OTHER WITH ALMOST PERFECT IMPUNITY. A species of common law has grown up in Kentucky, which, were it written down, would in all civilized countries, cause her to be re-christened in derision THE LAND OF BLOOD."

The present Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Kentucky a few years since published an article on the murders in that State. He states that some with whom he had conversed, estimated them at 80 per annum, but that he had rated them at about 30; and that he had ascertained that for the last three years, there had not been "an instance of capital punishment in any white offender." It is believed says he, "there are more homicides on an average of two years in any of our more populous counties, than in the whole of several of our States of equal, or nearly equal population of Kentucky."

Gov. McVay, of Alabama, in his message to the Legislature, November 15th, 1837, thus speaks: "We hear of homicides in different parts of the State continually, and yet have few convictions and still fewer executions! Why do we hear of stabblings and shootings almost daily in some part or other of our State?"

"DEATH BY VIOLENCE.—The moral atmosphere in our State appears to be in a deleterious and sanguinary condition. Almost every exchange paper which reaches us, contains some inhuman and revolting case of murder, or death by violence. Not less than FIFTEEN deaths by violence have occurred to our certain knowledge, within the past three months."—[Grand Gulf Miss. Advertiser, 27th June, 1837.]

CONTEMPT OF HUMAN LIFE.—In view of the crimes which are daily committed, we are led to inquire whether it is owing to the inefficiency of our laws, or to the manner in which these laws are administered, that this FRIGHTFUL DELUGE OF HUMAN BLOOD FLOWS THROUGH OUR STREETS AND OUR PLACES OF PUBLIC RESORT.—[N. O. Bee, 23d May, 1838.

At the opening of the Criminal Court in New Orleans, Nov. 4th, 1837, Judge Lansuque delivered an address, in which, speaking of the prevalence of violence, he used the following language:—

"As a Louisianian parent, I reflect with terror, that our beloved children, reared to become one day honorable and useful citizens, may be the victims of those votaries of vice and licentiousness. Without some powerful and certain remedy, our streets will become butcheries overflowing with the blood of our citizens!"

The following notice of a public sale is taken from the Savannah Republican of March 2d, 1845. After describing the plantation which was to be sold, the notice said:

"Also, at the same time and place, the following negroes, to wit: Charles, Peggy, Antonett, Davy, Septomber, Maria, Jenney, and Isaac—levied on as the property of Henry T. Hall, to satisfy a mortgage fi. fa. issued out of M'Intosh Superior Court, in favor of the board of directors of the *Theological Seminary of the synod of South Carolina and Georgia* vs. said Henry T. Hall. Conditions, cash.

"C. O'NEAL, Deputy Sheriff, M. C."

The New Orleans Bee recently contained the following advertisement:

"A bull fight, between a ferocious bull and a number of dogs, will take place on Sunday next at 4½ o'clock, P. M., on the other side of the river at Algiers, opposite Canal street. After the bull fight, a fight will take place between a bear and some dogs; the whole to conclude by a combat between an ass and several dogs.

"Amateurs bringing dogs to participate in the fight will be admitted gratis.

"Admittance, box 50 cts., pit 30 cts.

"The spectacle will be repeated every Sunday, weather permitting.
PERE LLELLA."

Such is a faint picture of the state of morals and religion at the South, yet the Rev. Joel Parker had to apologise to a mob for preaching about their sins.

The Rev. Amos Dresser writes:

"On my return from Nashville in 1835, I called on the Rev. J. W. Hall of Gallatin, thirty miles from Nashville, and shall not soon forget the kindness shown me by himself and family.

In speaking of the moral desolation of the country, he gave it as his opinion, that if slavery continued five years longer, there would not be found a devoted minister of the Gospel in all the south; and added, 'If I should preach the whole truth to my people, I could not stay with them three months.' "

AMOS DRESSER.

Mr. Hall has since removed to Dayton, Ohio, but not having much fear of the Abolitionists he has summoned some courage and preaches against Abolitionism.

Cassius M. Clay traced Slavery throughout all ages and nations, and came to the conclusion that American Slavery was preminent in atrocity. He stated that the murder of slaves went unpunished in Kentucky, and added, "The bells of seven churches weekly toll in my ears till I am deaf with the sound, calling up the people to the worship of the ever-living and omnipotent God. No rakish Jupiter, nor drunken Bacchus, nor prostituted Venus, nor obscene and hideous Pan, rules the consciences of the illuminated people of this city and state. Yet these scenes, which would have added fresh infamy to Babylon, and wrested the palm of reckless cruelty from Nero's bon-fire, Rome, have been enacted, *not in a corner*. And the sentinels of Him 'whose arm is not shortened,' from the watch towers of Israel, have not ceased to cry out, 'all is well.' "

Amos Dresser was apprehended in Nashville, Tenn. on suspicion of being an abolitionist—brought before a Vigilance Committee, of whom seven were members of the Presbyterian Church, and one a Campbellite minister—and sentenced according to Lynch law, to receive 20 lashes with a cowskin on his bare back.

"I knelt to receive the punishment, which was inflicted by Mr. Braughton, the city officer, with a HEAVY COW-SKIN. When the infliction ceased, an involuntary feeling of thanksgiving to God for the fortitude with which I had been enabled to endure it, arose in my soul, to which I began aloud to give utterance. The death-like silence that prevailed for a moment, was suddenly broken with loud exclamations, 'G—d d—n him, stop his praying.' I was raised to my feet by Mr. Braughton, and conducted by him to my lodging, where it was thought safe for me to remain but a few moments.

"Among my triers, was a great portion of the respectability of Nashville. Nearly half of the whole number professors of Christianity, the reputed stay of the Church, supporters of the cause of benevolence in the form of tract and missionary Societies and Sabbath Schools, several members, and most of the elders of the Presbyterian Church, from whose hands, but a few days before, I had received the emblems of the broken body and shed blood of our blessed Saviour." (!!!)

The Editor of the Georgia Chronicle, a professor of religion, said that Dresser ought to have been hanged as high as Haman and left there to rot upon the gibbet until the wind whistled through his bones. And added, the cry of the whole South should be, death, instant death, to the Abolitionist wherever he is caught.

Rev. Thomas S. Witherspoon of Alabama, to the editor of "The Emancipator."

When the tardy process of the law is too long in redressing our grievances, we of the South have adopted the summary remedy of Judge Lynch—and really I think it one of the most wholesome and salutary remedies for the malady of Northern fanaticism that can be applied, and no doubt my worthy friend, the Editor of the Emancipator and Human Rights, would feel the better of its enforcement, provided he had a Southern administrator. I go to the Bible for my warrant in all moral matters. * * * Let your emissaries dare venture to cross the Potomac, and I cannot promise you that their fate will be less than Haman's. Then beware how you goad an insulted, but magnanimous people to deeds of desperation."

William S. Plummer, D. D. Virginia :

[To the Chairman of a Committee of Correspondence, appointed by the citizens of Richmond to oppose the progress of anti-slavery principles at the South.]

"I have carefully watched this matter from its earliest existence, and every thing I have seen and heard of its character, both from its patrons and its enemies, has confirmed me, beyond repentance, in the belief that, let the character of Abolitionists be what it may in the sight of the judge of all the earth, this is the most meddlesome, imprudent, reckless, fierce and wicked excitement I ever saw. I am willing at any time that the *world* should know that such are my views.—A few things are perfectly clear to my mind.

"1. The more speedy, united, firm and solemnly resolute but temperate the expression of public opinion on this subject in the whole South, the better it will be for the North, for slaveholders, and generally for the slaves.

"2. If Abolitionists will set the country in a blaze, *it is but fair that they should have the first warning at the fire.*

* * * * *

"Lastly—Abolitionists are, like infidels, wholly unaddicted to martyrdom for opinion's sake. Let them understand that *they will be caught*, if they come among us, and they will take good heed to keep out of our way. There is not one man among them who has any more idea of shedding his blood in this cause, than he has of making war on the Grand Turk.—Their universal spirit is to stand off and growl and bark at

men and institutions, without daring to march for one moment into their midst, and attack them with apostolic fearlessness.

With sentiments of great respect, I remain yours, &c.

WM. S. PLUMMER.

Rev. Robert N. Anderson Virginia :

"To the Sessions of the Presbyterian Congregations within the bounds of West Hanover Presbytery :—

At the approaching stated meeting of our Presbytery, I design to offer a preamble and string of resolutions on the subject of the use of wine in the Lord's Supper; and also a preamble and a string of resolutions on the subject of the treasonable and abominably wicked interference of the Northern and Eastern fanatics with our political and civil rights, our property, and our domestic concerns. I myself, dear brethren, have no reason to doubt the perfect soundness of all my clerical brethren of this Presbytery on these subjects. But you are fully aware that the present state of things loudly and imperiously calls for an expression of their views on these subjects, and particularly on abolitionism, by all church bodies at the South. You are aware also, that our clergy, whether with or without reason, are more suspected by the public than are the clergy of other denominations. Now, dear christian brethren, I humbly express it as my earnest wish, that you quit yourselves like men; that every congregation send up both to the Presbytery and to the Synod, the ablest elder it has. The times—rely upon it, the times demand it. If there be any stray-goat of a minister among us, tainted with the blood-hound principles of Abolitionism, let him be ferreted out, silenced, excommunicated, and left to the public to dispose of him in other respects.

Your affectionate brother in the Lord,

ROBERT N. ANDERSON."

The plain English of this is, if there be a minister among us tainted with the principles of christianity, let him be ferreted out, &c., and left to the public to hang or burn, as suits it best.

"A meeting was held in 1835 at Williamsburg, Virginia, which was harangued by no less a personage than John Tyler, recently Governor of the State, and now President of the United States: under this gentleman's auspices, and after his address, the meeting resolved—

"That we regard the printing and circulating within our limits, incendiary publications tending to excite our slaves to insurrection and rebellion, as treasonable acts of the most alarming character, and that when we detect offenders in the fact, we will inflict upon them condign punishment without resorting to any other tribunal."

"The profligacy of this resolution needs no comment. Mr.

Tyler well knew that the laws of Virginia, and every other State, were abundantly sufficient to punish crime: but he and his fellow lynchers wished to deter the people from receiving and reading anything adverse to slavery—and hence, with their usual audacity, they determined to usurp the prerogative of courts and juries, and throw down all the bulwarks which the law has erected for the protection of innocence.”—*Judge Jay*.

“Newspapers are regarded as the mirror of public opinion. Let us see what opinions are reflected in those of the South.

“The Charleston Courier, 11th August, 1835, declared that ‘the gallows and the stake’ awaited the Abolitionists who should dare to ‘appear in person among us.’

“‘Let us declare through the public journals of our country, that the question of Slavery is not and shall not be open to discussion; that the system is too deep-rooted among us, and must remain for ever; that the very moment any private individual attempts to lecture us upon its evils and immorality, and the necessity of putting means in operation to secure us from them, in the same moment his tongue shall be cut out and cast upon the dung-hill.’—Columbia (S. C.) Telescope.

“This, it will be noticed, is a threat addressed, not to the northern Abolitionists, but to you, fellow citizens—to the great majority of the white inhabitants of the South; and you are warned not to express an opinion offensive to your aristocracy.

“‘AWFUL BUT JUST PUNISHMENT.—We learn by the arrival of the steamboat Kentucky last evening from Richmond, that Robinson, the Englishman mentioned in the Beacon of Saturday as being in the vicinity of Lynchburg, was taken about fifteen miles from that town, and HANGED on the spot, for exciting the slaves to insurrection.’—Norfolk (Va.) Beacon, 10th August, 1835.

“‘We can assure the Bostonians, one and all, who have embarked in the nefarious scheme of abolishing Slavery at the South, that lashes will hereafter be spared the backs of their emissaries. Let them send out their men to Louisiana; they will never return to tell their suffering, but they shall expiate the crime of interfering in our domestic institutions by being BURNED AT THE STAKE.’—New Orleans True American.

“‘Abolition editors in slave States will not dare to avow their opinions. It would be instant DEATH to them.’—Missouri Argus.”

J. C. Postell, writing to Leroy Sunderland, said:

“If you wish to educate the slave, I will tell you how to raise the money, without editing Zion’s Watchman. You and old Arthur Tappan come out to the south this winter, and they will raise one hundred thousand dollars for you. New Orleans itself will be pledged for it. Desiring no further acquaintance with you, and never expecting to see you but once in time or eternity, that is at judgment, I subscribe myself, the friend of the Bible, and the opposer of Abolitionists,

“**J. C. POSTELL.**”

“Orangeburgh, July 21, 1836.”

Rev. George W. Langhorne, of North Carolina, to the editor of Zion's Watchman:

"I, sir, would as soon be found in the ranks of a banditti, as numbered with Arthur Tappan and his wanton co-adjutors. Nothing is more appalling to my feelings as a man, contrary to my principles as a Christian, and *repugnant* to my soul as a *minister*, than the insidious proceedings of such men."

The Abolitionists alluded to by Mr. Langhorne, were preaching the great and eternal principles of Christianity, love to God and love to man. And because they were so preaching, Mr. Langhorne, speaking the sentiments of *the votaries of the slaveholding religion*, said he would as soon be found in the ranks of a banditti as numbered with these Abolitions. He would be in better company in the ranks of a banditti than where he is now in his present connections. Bandit's take the lives and purses of others, Mr. Langhorne and his associates, rob men, women and children of their earnings, their liberty and their lives—they shroud the souls of their hapless victims in midnight gloom, a night with no star, no morning. They blunt their moral perceptions, and disable them from discriminating between right and wrong, and degrade them to the level of the brute creation, rendering them unable to know anything of or understand the attributes of Deity, and then they tell these poor ignorant creatures that if they do not submit to their tyrants, and toil diligently and faithfully for them, that God will "*hand their poor souls over into the possession of the Devil, to become his slaves forever in hell, without any hope of ever getting free from him.*"

The man who can comprehend the great principles of justice and humanity, whose moral faculties are developed, who can feel that God is a just and impartial being, may defy all the terrocs of the rack, of the stake, the gibbet, and the dungeon. Men and women when bound to the stake, with the flames curling around them, have rejoiced that they were accounted worthy to suffer for righteousness sake; but the poor slave is prevented from knowing what righteousness is. Such, reader, is a faint picture of a slaveholding religion. Do you maintain ecclesiastical connections with a slaveholding church, or with slaveholders, dissolve those connections. "That ye be not a partaker of their sins and receive not of their plagues." If you are opposed to Slavery, if you believe Slavery is wrong, then show that you believe this by pronouncing judgment against a slaveholding religion—a religion pre-

eminent in atrocity. And if you have more love for the slave's cause than for a slaveholding church, you will give up your connection with that church, and come out of it; you cannot remain in it, knowing its character, and be guiltless of the slave's blood. Such is the religion that creates a public sentiment in favor of slaveholding, a public sentiment frequently exemplified in mob violence, and constantly in the character and acts of this slaveholding government, a government which makes every one who is or becomes a party to it, a slaveholder.

The question rests with you, between you and the ever-living God. Slavery is a dreadful reality. Your duties are stern. Will you acquit yourself of them?

NOTE.

“WASHINGTON, Aug. 3, 1842.

“MY DEAR SIR—I have read with pleasure your pamphlet, entitled, ‘Slavery defended from the Scripture against abolitionists.’

“You have fully and ably made good that title. You have shown, beyond all controversy, that slavery is sanctioned both by the Old and New Testament. He who denies it, if not blinded by fanaticism, must be a hypocrite.”—*Extract of a letter, addressed by John C. Calhoun to Rev. A. McCain, of M. P. Church, on occasion of the reception of his pamphlet in favor of Slavery.*

EXTRACTS FROM THE NARRATIVE OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

Very soon after my return to Baltimore, my mistress, Lucretia, died, leaving her husband and one child, Amanda; and in a very short time after her death, Master Andrew died. Now all the property of my old master, slaves included, was in the hands of strangers,—strangers who had had nothing to do with accumulating it. Not a slave was left free. All remained slaves from the youngest to the oldest. If any one thing in my experience, more than another served to deepen my conviction of the infernal character of slavery, and to fill me with unutterable loathing of slaveholders, it was their base ingratitude to my poor old grandmother. She had served my old master faithfully from youth to old age. She had been the source of all his wealth; she had peopled his plantation with slaves; she had become a great grandmother in his service. She had rocked him in infancy, attended him in childhood, served him through life, and at his death wiped from his icy brow the cold death-sweat, and closed his eyes forever. She was nevertheless left a slave—a slave for life—a slave in the hands of strangers; and in their hands she saw her children, her grand-children, and her great grand-children, divided, like so many sheep, without being gratified with the small privilege of a single word, as to their or her own destiny. And to cap the climax of their base ingratitude and fiendish barbarity, my grandmother, who was now very old, having outlived my old master and all his children, having seen the beginning and the end of all of them, and her present owners finding she was of but little value, her frame already racked with the pains of old age, and complete helplessness fast stealing over her once active limbs, they took her to the woods, built her a little hut, put up a little mud chimney, and then made her welcome to the privilege of supporting herself there in perfect loneliness; thus virtu-

ally turning her out to die! If my poor old grandmother now lives, she lives to suffer in utter loneliness; she lives to remember and mourn over the loss of children, the loss of grandchildren and the loss of great grandchildren. They are, in the language of the Slave's poet, Whittier—

'Gone, gone, sold and gone
 'To the rice swamp dank and lone,
 Where the slave-whip ceaseless swings,
 Where the noisome insect stings,
 Where the fever-demon strews
 Poison with the falling dews,
 Where the sickly sunbeams glare
 'Through the hot and misty air:—
 Gone, gone, sold and gone
 'To the rice swamp dank and lone,
 From Virginia hills and waters—
 Woe is me, my stolen daughters!'

The hearth is desolate. The children, the unconscious children, who once sang and danced in her presence, are gone. She gropes her way, in the darkness of age, for a drink of water. Instead of the voices of her children, she hears by day the moans of the dove, and by night the screams of the hideous owl. All is gloom. The grave is at the door. And now, when weighed down by the pains and aches of old age, when the head inclines to the feet, when the beginning and ending of human existence meet, and helpless infancy and painful old age combine together—at this time, this most needful time, the time for the exercise of that tenderness and affection which children only can exercise towards a declining parent—my poor old grandmother, the devoted mother of twelve children, is left all alone, in yonder little hut, before a few dim embers. She stands—she sits—she staggers—she falls—she groans—she dies—and there are none of her children or grandchildren present, to wipe from her wrinkled brow the cold sweat of death, or to place beneath the sod her fallen remains. Will not a righteous God visit for these things?

The following extract is one of great power. The apostrophe 'to the moving multitude of ships,' seen from the banks of the Chesapeake bay—'Freedom's swift-winged angels, that fly round the world'—partakes largely of the sublime and pathetic:

If at any one time of my life more than another, I was made to drink the bitterest dregs of slavery, that time was during the first six months of my stay with Mr.

Covey. We were worked in all weathers. It was never too hot or too cold; it could never rain, blow, hail, or snow, too hard for us to work in the field. Work, work, work, was scarcely more the order of the day than of the night. The longest days were too short for him, and the shortest nights too long for him. I was somewhat unmanageable when I first went there, but a few months of this discipline tamed me. Mr. Covey succeeded in breaking me. I was broken in body, soul, and spirit. My natural elasticity was crushed, my intellect languished, the disposition to read departed, the cheerful spark that lingered about my eye died; the dark night of slavery closed in upon me; and behold a man transformed into a brute!

Sunday was my only leisure time. I spent this in a sort of beast-like stupor, between sleep and wake, under some large tree. At times I would rise up, a flash of energetic freedom would dart through my soul, accompanied with a faint beam of hope, that flickered for a moment, and then vanished. I sank down again, mourning over my wretched condition. I was sometimes prompted to take my life, and that of Covey, but was prevented by a combination of hope and fear. My sufferings on this plantation seem now like a dream, rather than a stern reality.

Our house stood within a few rods of the Chesapeake Bay, whose broad bosom was ever white with sails from every quarter of the habitable globe. Those beautiful vessels, robed in purest white, so delightful to the eye of freemen, were to me so many shrouded ghosts, to terrify and torment me with thoughts of my wretched condition. I have often, in the deep stillness of a summer's Sabbath, stood all alone upon the lofty banks of that noble bay, and traced, with saddened heart and tearful eye, the countless number of sails moving off to the mighty ocean. The sight of these always affected me powerfully. My thoughts would compel utterance; and there, with no audience but the Almighty, I would pour out my soul's complaint, in my rude way, with an apostrophe to the moving multitude of ships:

"You are loosed from your moorings, and are free; I am fast in my chains and am a slave. You move merrily before the gentle gale, and I sadly before the bloody whip! You are freedom's swift-winged angels, that fly round the world; I am confined in bands of iron! O that I were free! O that I were on one of your gallant decks.

and under your protecting wing! Alas! betwixt me and you, the turbid waters roll. Go on—go on. O, that I could also go! Could I but swim! If I could fly! O, why was I born a man, of whom to make a brute? The glad ship is gone; she hides in the dim distance. I am left in the hottest hell of unending slavery. O God, save me! God, deliver me! Let me be free! Is there any God? Why am I a slave? I will run away. I will not stand it. Get caught or get clear, I'll try it. I had as well die with ague as the fever. I have only one life to lose. I had as well be killed running as die standing. Only think of it; one hundred miles straight north, and I am free! Try it! Yes! God helping me, I will. It cannot be that I shall live and die a slave. I will take to the water. This very bay shall yet bear me into freedom. The steamboats steered in a northeast course from North Point. I will do the same; and when I get to the head of the bay, I will turn my canoe adrift, and walk straight through Delaware into Pennsylvania. When I get there I shall not be required to have a pass; I can travel without being disturbed. Let but the first opportunity offer, and, come what will, I am off. Meanwhile I will try to bear up under the yoke. I am not the only slave in the world. Why should I fret? I can bear as much as any of them. Besides, I am but a boy; and all boys are bound to some one. It may be that my misery in Slavery will only increase my happiness when I get free. There is a better day coming."

Thus I used to think and thus I used to speak to myself; goaded almost to madness at one moment, and at the next reconciling myself to my wretched lot.

With what graphic power is the description of the sufferings and perils which await the flying fugitive in every quarter of the country, given below!

At the close of the year 1834, Mr. Freeland again hired me of my master, for the year 1835. But, by this time, I wanted to live *upon free land*, as well as *with Freeland*; and I was no longer content, therefore, to live with him or any other Slaveholder. I began, with the commencement of the year, to prepare myself for a final struggle, which should decide my fate one way or the other. My tendency was upward. I was fast approaching manhood, and year after year had passed, and I was still a slave. These thoughts roused me—I must do something. I therefore resolved that 1835 should not pass

without witnessing an attempt, on my part, to secure my liberty. But I was not willing to cherish this determination alone. My fellow-slaves were dear to me. I was anxious to have them participate with me in this, my life-giving determination. I therefore, though with great prudence, commenced early to ascertain their views and feelings in regard to their condition, and to imbue their minds with thoughts of freedom. I bent myself to devising ways and means for our escape, and meanwhile strove, on all fitting occasions, to impress them with the gross fraud and inhumanity of Slavery. I went first to Henry, next to John, then to the others. I found in them all, warm hearts and noble spirits. They were ready to hear, and ready to act, when a feasible plan should be proposed. This was what I wanted. I talked to them of our want of manhood, if we submitted to our enslavement without at least one noble effort to be free. We met often, and consulted frequently, and told our hopes and fears, and recounted the difficulties, real and imagined, which we should be called on to meet. At times we were almost disposed to give up, and try to content ourselves with our wretched lot; at others we were firm and unbending in our determination to go. Whenever we suggested any plan, there was shrinking—the odds were fearful. Our path was beset with the greatest obstacles; and if we succeeded in gaining the end of it, our right to be free was yet questionable—we were yet liable to be returned to bondage. We could see no spot, this side of the ocean, where we could be free. We knew nothing about Canada. Our knowledge of the north did not extend farther than New York; and to go there, and be for ever harrassed with the frightful liability of being returned to slavery—with the certainty of being treated ten-fold worse than before—the thought was truly a horrible one, and one which it was not easy to overcome. The case sometimes stood thus: At every gate through which we were to pass, we saw a watchman—at every ferry, a guard—on every bridge, a sentinel—and in every wood, a patrol. We were hemmed in on every side. Here were the difficulties, real or imagined—the good to be sought, and the evil to be shunned. On the one hand, there stood Slavery, a stern reality, glaring frightfully upon us—its robes already crimsoned with the blood of millions, and even now feasting itself greedily upon our own flesh. On the other hand, away back in the dim distance, under the flickering light of the north star, behind some craggy hill or snow-

covered mountain, stood a doubtful freedom—half frozen—beckoning us to come and share its hospitality. This in itself was sometimes enough to stagger us: but when we permitted ourselves to survey the road, we were frequently appalled. Upon either side we saw grim death, assuming the most horrid shapes. Now it was starvation, causing us to eat our own flesh; now we were contending with the waves, and were drowned; now we were overtaken, and torn to pieces by the fangs of the terrible bloodhound. We were stung by scorpions, chased by wild beasts, bitten by snakes, and finally, after having nearly reached the desired spot—after swimming rivers, encountering wild beasts, sleeping in the woods, suffering hunger and nakedness—we were overtaken by our pursuers, and, in our resistance, we were shot dead upon the spot! I say, this picture sometimes appalled us, and made us

“Rather bear those ills we had,
Than fly to others that we know not of.”

* * * * *

I have been frequently asked how I felt when I found myself in a free State. I never have been able to answer the question with any satisfaction to myself. It was a moment of the highest excitement I ever experienced. I suppose I felt as one may imagine the unarmed mariner to feel when he is rescued by a friendly man-of-war from the pursuit of a pirate. In writing to a friend, immediately after my arrival at New York, I said I felt like one who had escaped a den of hungry lions. This state of mind, however, soon subsided; and I was again seized with a feeling of great insecurity and loneliness. I was yet liable to be taken back, and subjected to all the tortures of slavery. This in itself was enough to damp the ardor of my enthusiasm. But the loneliness overcame me. There I was in the midst of thousands, and yet a perfect stranger; without home and without friends, in the midst of thousands of my own brethren—children of a common Father; and yet I dared not to unfold to any one of them my sad condition. I was afraid to speak to any one for fear of speaking to the wrong one, and thereby falling into the hands of money-loving kidnappers, whose business it was to wait for the panting fugitive, as the ferocious beasts of the forest lie in wait for their prey. The motto which I adopted when I started from slavery was this—‘Trust no man!’ I saw in every white man an enemy, and in almost every colored man cause for distrust. It

was a most painful situation : and to understand it, one must needs experience it, or imagine himself in similar circumstances. Let him be a fugitive slave in a strange land—a land given up to be the hunting-ground for slaveholders, whose inhabitants are legalized kidnappers—where he is every moment subjected to the terrible liability of being seized upon by his fellow-men, as the hideous crocodile, seizes upon his prey!—I say, let him place himself in my situation—without home or friends—without money or credit—wanting shelter and no one to give it—wanting bread and no money to buy it,—and at the same time let him feel that he is pursued by merciless men-hunters, and in total darkness as to what to do, where to go, and where to stay,—perfectly helpless both as to the means of defence and means of escape, in the midst of plenty, yet suffering the terrible gnawing of hunger,—in the midst of houses, yet having no home,—among fellow-men, yet feeling as if in the midst of wild beasts, whose greediness to swallow up the trembling and half-famished fugitive is only equalled by that which the monsters of the deep swallow up the helpless fish upon which they subsist,—I say let him be placed in this most trying situation,—the situation in which I was placed,—then, and not till then, will he fully appreciate the hardships of, and know how to sympathize with, the toil worn and whip-scarred fugitive slave.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The author of the "Slaveholder's Religion" is making an effort to obtain Jones' Catechism for Slaves, and Alexander Glennie's Book of Sermons to Slaves, and as soon as practicable after obtaining these two works, he promises a second edition shall be forthcoming of this work.